THE Nation

April 2, 1955
20c

Afro-Asian Conference

by K. M. Pannikar and C. P. Fitzgerald

L'Affaire Poujade

by J. Alvarez del Vayo

APR 5 1955

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EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Skids Under Labor — *Eleanor G. Astor*

Chicago's Hectic Race — *Elmer Gertz*

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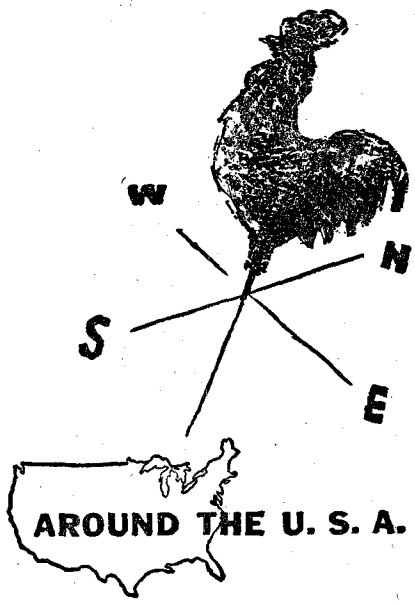

A Significant Victory For Civil Liberties

Los Angeles

THE ISSUE was not new: whether lawyers who rely on the Fifth Amendment should be disbarred. What was new was the breadth of opposition. Self-confessed Republicans and alleged Communists, corporation lawyers, and experts on the repossession of TV sets—they arose one after the other to address the board of governors of the state bar of California and to plead that the disbarment proposals be rejected.

The place was the assembly hall the State Building in Los Angeles. A committee of the state bar had recommended that the business and professional code be amended. The board of governors wished to hear an expression of opinion from members of the bar before deciding whether to endorse the amendments for adoption by the state legislature.

The amendments would make it possible to disbar any lawyer who refuses on any grounds to tell any Congressional or legislative committee, or even a committee of the bar: 1) whether he has himself been a member of "any Communist organization;" 2) what he knows about others (excepting only his own clients) suspected of membership in any Communist organization."

A scant hundred people were in the assembly room, scene of many hearings of the state Un-American Activities Committee. Of these, fourteen were board members, twenty-six were to speak. Five, including Homer D. Crotty, chairman of the committee which had recommended the amendment, spoke in the affirmative. Twenty-one spoke in opposition.

Mr. Crotty led off, looking somewhat like Robert Taft with a toupee. The Fifth Amendment, he granted, was an important privilege. But the practice of law was also a privilege. Suppose, he said, "the Chief of Staff of the United States military forces invoked the Fifth Amendment. What a frightening chill there would be in the hearts of the American people!" School teachers and policemen lose *their* jobs if they claim the Fifth—why not lawyers?

John J. ("Jack") Irwin, then deputy mayor of Los Angeles (he has since resigned), felt the amendments would regain for the legal profession the high regard of the public. An ex-aide of Richard Nixon, Irwin was sharp and earnest. "Who among us has not cringed with shame," he asked, "at those few admitted to our ranks who have reviled and defied our legislative bodies?"

Of the twenty-one lawyers who spoke in opposition, five had themselves been Fifth Amendment witnesses before Congressional committees and three had represented such witnesses. These two themes were repeated in twenty-one variations:

1. Although an officer of the court, the lawyer is *not* a servant of the government. He is the servant of his client, however unpopular, often against the government.

2. The privilege against self-incrimination is for the innocent as well as the guilty. In its origin and in its use today, it is a fundamental defense against inquisition into thought and opinion.

Two of those who spoke, Hugh R. Manes and Clore Warne, represented the American Civil Liberties Union. Four represented a non-partisan group which had polled other lawyers on the issue with the following results: Fifteen signatures for the disbarment proposals, 420 against. Among the opponents were a superior court judge, an assistant United States attorney, a state assemblyman, and Chief Judge William Denman of the United States Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals.

Other noted lawyers had signed a letter circulated by Charles A. Beardsley, a former president of the state bar. His list would be longer, Beardsley told the board, if so many lawyers who agreed with him were not afraid to say so publicly.

Paul Ziffren, California's Democratic National Committeeman, called the proposals "a very large step backward from freedom . . . conditioning the bar toward conformity."

Robert W. Kenny, former attorney general of California, pointed out that similar political-test oaths had been proposed and defeated before. And now, "just as we seem to find a better understanding, a decrease of hysteria . . . over the fence from my good friend Homer Crotty's backyard, this old dead cat comes sailing."

A good deal of attention was focused on Ben Margolis, whose testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities ("I have nothing but contempt for this committee!") had been cited as *the* horrible example of unlawyerlike conduct. Margolis reminded the board that in the William Schneiderman case the Supreme Court had agreed, five to four, that Marxist literature did not advocate the forceful overthrow of the United States government. The proposed amendments, said Margolis, would make it illegal to agree with this decision, or even to argue about it.

THE most effective speaker, in many ways, was a slim young Republican named Rayfield Lundy, a member of the local executive board of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He spoke of the fight that he and other Negro lawyers were waging against "police brutality, discrimination in civil service and education, and other forms of segregation. When we inquire into these things, we are called Communist." The charge was false, he said. "But the history of the use of the label is not reassuring."

One could not help but feel at the end of the day, as Dewitt A. Higgs, president of the state bar, expressed his pride in all who had spoken, that the board would *not* endorse the proposals. And on March 19, scoring a significant victory for civil liberties, the board turned them down.

PAUL JARRICO

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THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Fuse of World War III

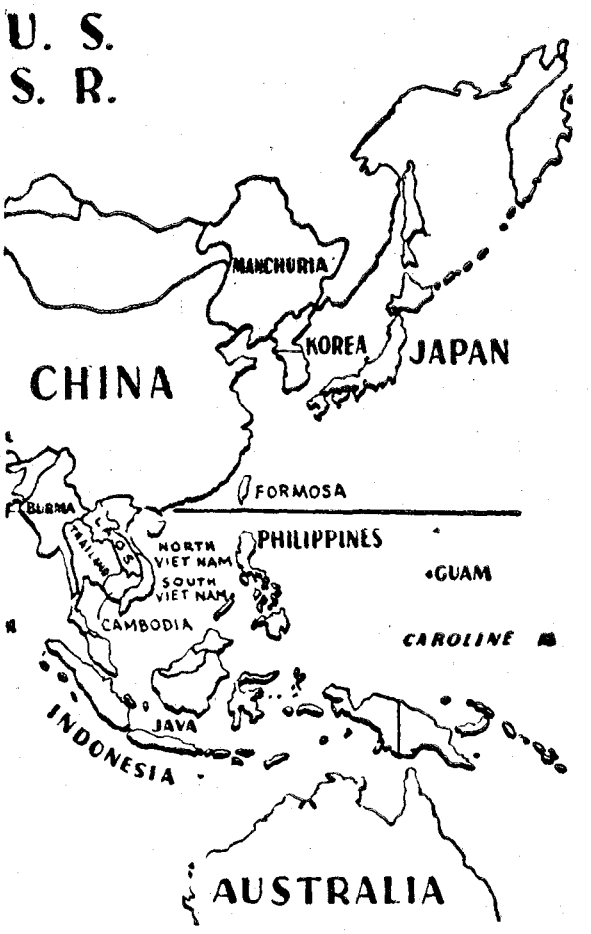
THE SPUTTERING fuse of World War II has shifted half-way around the world from the Elbe to Southeast Asia, according to Secretary Dulles. Last week he told members of the Advertising Club of New York that Chinese Communist tactics "may prove more dangerous and provocative of war" in the near future than those of the Soviet Union. The Secretary has been sounding this lugubrious note since his return from the SEATO conference at Bangkok. But if his trip seems to have clarified in his mind the dangers we face, it has apparently done nothing to clarify the meaning of the steps he has chosen to take to meet them.

C. L. Sulzberger wrote in the New York *Times:*

> . . . . Mr. Dulles likes to compare our Asian security arrangements with the palm and fingers of a hand. The United States is militarily muscled to each geographical finger: South Korea, Japan, Formosa, and the SEATO area. The separate treaties binding us to defend these distant regions are not interlocking. But Dulles considers their interaction in case of war implicit.

What the Secretary regards as implicit, however, our allies may regard as nothing of the kind. How will Great Britain, a member of SEATO, react to an attack on Quemoy or Matsu, which are outside the SEATO area? Judging by Mr. Eden and British public opinion, the American index finger may point in alarm but the British trigger finger will not budge. If anything is implicit in the palm-and-fingers defense theory, it is the presence therein of contradictions of far-reaching import which Washington has been unable to resolve.

SEATO is built on the fiction that the northern and southern parts of Southeast Asia can be treated separately, with the dividing line at 21' 30" north latitude. Northward lie Red China, Formosa, the offshore islands, and Japan; to the south is the treaty area—the bulk of Indo-China, Malaya, Thailand, the Philippines, Indonesia, and Australia. Militarily the demarcation seems quite unreal. If China were to attack a SEATO area, is it suggested that they should be resisted only by local operations south of the line? China could attack Malaya, for instance, only through Laos, Cambodia, or Thailand. These are the only areas to which SEATO is immediately relevant. Yet local land resistance here could hardly be more successful than it was in Indo-China. The military case for striking at China



Horizontal line between Formosa and Philippines indicates approximate position of 21' 30" north latitude.

nearer home, north of the SEATO area, would be unanswerable and that would make the line at 21' 30" meaningless. As Secretary Dulles admits, the whole of East Asia would be one front.

It is equally foolish politically to imagine that you can follow one policy inside the treaty area and a different one north of it. Already the SEATO objectives have been compromised, if not corrupted, by Western attitudes toward Formosa. At Bangkok the SEATO delegates found it necessary to assert and reassert that all their plans were purely defensive. Meanwhile the United States, SEATO'S most powerful member, was enabling Chiang Kai-shek to make daily air assaults on Chinese Communist areas across the straits, and to reiterate his unbreakable resolve to

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In This Issue

EDITORIALS

The Fuse of World War III 277

ARTICLES

Washington in Focus
by Max Freedman 279

Chicago's Hectic Race:
Straw in the '56 Wind
by Elmer Gertz 281

L'Affaire Poujade:
France's Aspiring Fuehrer
by J. A. del Vayo 283

Skids Under Labor:
The Right-to-Work Laws
by Eleanor G. Astor 285

Afro-Asian Conference
Symbol of Independence
by K. M. Pannikar 287

The Issues at Stake
by C. P. Fitzgerald 288

BOOKS

Studs Lonigan Forever
by John Aldridge 290

Salisbury in Russia
by Mark Gayn 291

Books in Brief 292

THEATER and FILMS
by Robert Hatch 293

RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 295

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 613
by Frank W. Lewis opposite 296

AROUND THE U. S. A.
Significant Victory for Civil Liberties
by Paul Jarrico opposite 277

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return to the mainland. What do we expect independent-minded Asians to make of all this? That the SEATO powers will sponsor only defensive actions south of the treaty line, but must have freedom of movement north of it? If it is defensive for Chiang to drop bombs on the mainland, would it likewise be defensive for the Communists to start dropping bombs on Formosa? We make it hard for Asians to understand English.

It is hardly possible for China or other Asian countries to separate our commitments in SEATO from our bilateral treaty with the Nationalists, or to escape the fear that the SEATO nations will in some way be brought in to support Washington's Formosa policy. Indeed, the Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand are already indirectly linked with this policy. At Bangkok Dulles is reported to have said he would welcome the support of the SEATO members for America's policies above the line.

IT HAS been argued recently that the United States has no intention of supporting any major Nationalist operation on the mainland, but that it is necessary to let Chiang go on threatening and raiding to sustain morale in Formosa. This question of morale seems to need a more careful examination than it has yet received in official circles. Today no sensible person seriously imagines that the Nationalists could reestablish themselves as rulers of China, even through war. To support them in such a reckless venture suggests a criminal insensibility not only to their own fate but to the fate of world peace. To help them cling to the delusion that they can do it, when everyone outside Formosa knows it is a delusion, does not seem the best way to win the confidence of other allies. It is bad if you can only keep an ally as long as he is deluded about his own prospects and your intentions.

It is again argued that any show of "appeasement" in the Formosa Straits would weaken or destroy anti-Communist morale in the rest of East Asia. There is some truth in the general proposition that any marked increase in China's power is likely to make its neighbors more responsive to its wishes. But in practice there are two qualifications, more significant than the proposition itself. The first is that the surrender of Quemoy and neighboring coastal islands would not substantially increase China's power. The second—and more important—is that most people in East Asia fear war more than communism. There is a crucial difference between opposing communism in peace and fighting it in war.

It is impossible to assess the strength of anti-Communist morale in any of the Asian regimes which have depended heavily on American economic aid since the war. So far a militant anti-Communist posture has brought great material rewards. But the posture might not withstand the shock of war. No nation in East Asia—however bold its declamations against communism today—is likely to put much spirit into fighting

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any war that is not an overt attack on its own territory.

The people of East Asia do not believe that Mao has yet committed any clear act of overt aggression and accordingly—apart from the few men in Seoul and Taipeh compelled by professional exigencies to take a different line—they do not want war with China. Nor does any Western government want war with China. But bluff and blunder are the common roads to war. There can be no security anywhere in East Asia worth consideration until the nations concerned make it crystal clear, by words and deeds, that in the North as well as in the South, their objectives are purely defensive. For that is the only way to win the confidence and support of independent Asians, and they are the people on whom the region's safety finally depends.

THE MISGIVINGS—to use a mild word—with which most Asians regard the West's efforts to "save" them from communism are made amply clear in the discussion of the impending Afro-Asian Conference by K. M. Pannikar and C. P. Fitzgerald which appears on pages 287-289 of this issue. The articles by these two astute observers were of course prepared quite independently, which makes the more striking the similarity of their basic conclusions. As Mr. Fitzgerald points out, the presence of Communist China at the conference means that the problem of Formosa and the offshore islands, as well as of SEATO, is sure to be injected into the debate in one form or another. The nations represented at the conference represent the overwhelming majority of the peoples of two continents which, reckoned by the pendelum of history, are now on the upswing. To ignore them is to ignore the future.

As this important meeting approaches, our own plans become more and more obscure. We shall defend Quemoy and Matsu but only if, in the judgment of the President, their conquest by Communist China would seem to endanger Formosa. We are prepared to use "tactical" atomic weapons, though not the bomb, in limited warfare, but only if the limited warfare constitutes more than a "police" action. We warn China that it cannot be permitted to take Formosa by force, but we offer no hope that Mao can get it by any other means.

Obscurantist policies are not a way to meet a clear and present danger. One gets the feeling, watching the Washington dispatches, that the White House and the State Department are not unaware of the fact, and that alongside the complicated military maneuvering there are the cautious beginnings of statesmanship. The insistent pleas of Messrs. Eden and Nehru that restraint be used on the Quemoy and Matsu issues have not been answered affirmatively from Washington; on the other hand, their pleas have not been rebuffed. The door is still open to negotiations. One wonders whether the Democrats, who have had bipartisanship thrown back in their faces in the form of the Yalta documents, are now ready to make a partisan move—for peace. And perhaps the time has come for the White House to show some signs of bipartisanship, and to listen for a change to Senator George instead of to Senator Knowland. The Russians, for their part, give every indication of their readiness to talk.

Washington in Focus

by Max Freedman

SENATOR GEORGE made his proposal for a conference with Russia without consulting the other members of the Foreign Relations Committee or the Democratic leadership. It is a tribute to his personal prestige that the Democrats at once supported him. The Eisenhower Administration no longer could dismiss the call for a conference as an impatient demand from an old man in a hurry. Behind Churchill now stood the united ranks of the Democratic Party; and the President had to contrive something better than the polite evasions of conventional diplomacy. In the upshot he emerged with more honor than the Republican Party. For it is evident that the President is more hospitable to the idea of a conference, and is more tolerant about the conditions which must precede such a meeting, than is Senator Knowland or the Republican leadership in Congress.

There could be no more impeccable sponsor of a Big Four conference than Senator George. He is invulnerable to the charge of being friendly to communism. Nor does anyone believe that he is eager to attend such a meeting himself. If he does decide to go, it will be from a sense of duty rather than vanity. He genuinely believes that the West must talk with Russia soon if public opinion in the democratic world is to be persuaded that no chances for peace are being missed. All his thinking turns on that central point. He does not believe that Russia and the West can suddenly become friends, but he thinks it is impossible for the West to keep arming itself with the hydrogen bomb and boasting about its new strength in Europe without consenting to negotiate. Otherwise, the famous slogan about "negotiation from strength" becomes a mockery.

Senator George's argument has many fine points but that is its hard core; and the President quickly realized how difficult it was to

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answer it effectively. So on Wednesday at his press conference he surprised reporters by being far more receptive to Senator George's proposal than Senator Knowland and Representative Martin had indicated on Monday. Nor was anyone really convinced by the President's argument that his views are substantially the same as Senator Knowland's. It would be a bleak prospect for peace if they were. He was trying to minimize the extent of the differences between the White House and the Republican leaders on this issue and hoping that the opportunity for second thoughts would be taken in Congress to permit the Republican Party to formulate a more coherent and constructive policy. If the attitude of the party leaders remains unyielding, however, the President will once again be confronted with the choice of going ahead with Democratic support or bowing to the prejudices of a Republican minority.

The issues concern war or peace; and the Democrats must seek a clear answer from the White House. President Eisenhower seems to think that it does not matter very much which country takes the initiative in arranging the foreign-ministers conference which should precede the "parley at the summit." Why must the credit go to Great Britain if the United States sincerely wants such a conference to be held and wants it to succeed? An overture from Washington will at least convince world opinion that the United States is ready to take some risks to insure the success of the conference and is not merely engaging in a stale imitation of British policy. Here is one point where the Democrats should keep up the pressure. Having coaxed the President to move thus far, they may be able to persuade him to go even farther.

APART from the debate on the Russian conference, Senator George performed another service when he urged that the time had come to think of more normal relations with Communist China, and above all, to enlarge China's trade relations with the West. It is futile at this stage to chatter about a trusteeship for Formosa, to demand China's immediate membership in the United Nations and its presence at the conference with Russia. All these aims may be eminently sound and constructive; but they are not on the agenda of practical politics in Washington.

With the shrewd skill of a veteran political strategist, Senator George avoided such emotion-soaked issues and concentrated instead on the practical questions of trade. After all, if no progress can be made on this subject, then it is obvious that the more difficult political problems now defy solution. Many officials in the State Department believe that it would be a contribution to peace to normalize trade relations with China, even though they are opposed to the early recognition of the Peking Government. They think that such a gesture would be interpreted in China as meaning that it could slowly win its way back to membership in the world community provided it renounced aggression and ceased disturbing the peace by its provocative policies. These officials cannot make these points in public; but there would be strong support for any move in Congress to break through the rigid restraints on normal trade.

Once again the opposition would come from the right wing of the Republican Party. But that is hardly a satisfactory reason for the Democrats being afraid to do battle on this issue or shuffling away into timid compromise. Above all, there is no excuse for forgetting about Senator George's initiative and allowing the Chinese issue to die without any constructive action simply because the Russian proposal is more dramatic and challenging.

SOMETIMES the confusion in the Democratic Party can best be identified by examining the views of one of its ablest members. Senator Mike Mansfield is chairman of the foreign relations subcommittee on Far Eastern Affairs. He has adopted an equivocal stand on the question of more normal relations with China. In fact, he has been more outspoken in his defense of Mr. Dulles's policy in the Far East than he has been until now in endorsing Senator George's initiative. He wants a conference with Russia; he thinks there is only one way to test Russia's intentions and that is to see how she behaves at the actual conference. He thinks very little of trying to get pledges of fair conduct in advance of relying upon the rhetoric of the Kremlin that an era of cooperation has at last come in world affairs. What may be happening, in his judgment, is that Russia may want an interlude of repose, may therefore be willing to negotiate for a temporary settlement, and may recognize that the growing strength of NATO requires a reassessment of Soviet policy.

All this realism, however, suddenly vanishes when Senator Mansfield talks about Germany's future. He is greatly disturbed by the prospects of a German-Russian settlement which would undermine the foundations of Western diplomacy in Europe. If he stood alone in these fears, they would not be worth reporting. Other Senators share them but they refuse to proclaim their doubts or to criticize the Administration's policy in Europe, with its central emphasis being placed on Germany as an equal and trustworthy ally.

It must be reported that the State Department officials who are closest to this problem are convinced that the views of Senator Mansfield are exaggerated and remote from the current realities of German politics. They believe that West Germany can be trusted and they deplore all suggestions that the perfidy of Rapallo may now be repeated. And they would like Senator George to spread some of his own knowledge of German affairs among the members of the Democratic Party.

FORESHADOWED by many portents, the action of the Senate Finance Committee in linking the fate of the imperiled trade bill with that of the unpopular proposal to ratify GAAT was fully expected.

In almost every capital of the free world the charge has been made, sometimes obliquely, often openly, that the Geneva negotiations were blemished by the special concessions exacted by the American delegation and its insistence that Congress would never ratify GAAT unless these favors were granted American agriculture and indutry. After all these concessions, the outlook for GAAT, and for the reciprocal trade program, is more uncertain than at any time since the prolonged trade debate began.

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CHICAGO'S HECTIC RACE

Straw in the '56 Wind . . *by Elmer Gertz*

Chicago

THERE is only one certainty in Chicago's sensational mayoralty campaign which comes to an end on April 5—a Democrat will be elected. Richard J. Daley, the choice of the regular Democratic organization, is favored to win, but he has only the thinnest edge over Robert E. Merriam, the Democrat-in-a-hurry who is running on the Republican ticket.

Chicago has not seen a mayoralty fight like this since the daffy days of Big Bill Thompson, the great enemy of King George. It is not simply a local squabble. If Merriam wins a victory for the Republicans in the Democratic stronghold of Chicago, grave doubt is cast upon next year's chances of unseating the saccharine McCarthyite, Everett Dirksen, and even greater doubt remains as to the renomination of Adlai E. Stevenson. Is the Democratic convention likely to turn to a man who may not even win his own state? Such considerations have prompted many people who might otherwise have been in Merriam's corner to support Daley.

The Independent Voters of Illinois, the local affiliate of Americans for Democratic Action, has come out for Merriam. But the vote was split. Leo A. Lerner, who has always been the brains, heart, and soul of I. V. I., is supporting Daley. In Merriam's stable are to be found some of those who supported Stevenson and Senator Douglas, but not the two men themselves. After Douglas's great victory last fall, the Senator kept Merriam cooling his heels when the latter sought to congratulate him. Stevenson, who issued a rather mildly pro-Daley statement when the Democratic nomination was at stake, is now for Daley in the clearest of language.

Merriam obtained Republican nomination with ease after some of the fanciest maneuvering ever seen in these parts. The G. O. P. chose him because it looked as if he could garner more votes than any genuine Republican. Only thirty-six, he was born to urban politics. His father was Charles E. Merriam, dean of American political scientists. Like his son after him, Dr. Merriam had been alderman from the University of Chicago ward and had early shown qualities of leadership over the reform forces. When still a young man, he ran for mayor on the Republican ticket, his campaign being managed by Harold L. Ickes. It was a famous fight. Some believe that he actually got most of the votes, but was counted out. During the New Deal era, Merriam Senior became a Democrat. Young Bob started as a Democrat. He became a Republican last fall and certainly his switch was more sudden and less explainable than his father's. He professes to be for Adlai Stevenson, Paul Douglas, Joseph Lohman, and the other liberal leaders of the Democratic Party, but he says that the Cook County Democratic Organization (which put these knights-errant and others like them in office) is simply incapable of providing decent leadership for Chicago.

MERRIAM is a student of metropolitan planning and government, with a good deal of ability and even more ambition. He has a flair for the dramatic, an amazing gift for public relations. There can be no doubt that he is honest. He did not understand at first what was meant by the wily alderman who told him, shortly after he was first elected to the City Council, that he had "a good privilege ward." He tends to sneak around obstacles rather than overcome them. When the Chicago public-housing program was stalled by those who were opposed to racial equality, Merriam came up with a brave new plan for middle-income housing, acting as if that were a magical substitute for the housing of low-income and minority groups. He has equivocated so much on the race issue that most Negro leaders regard him with some distrust. When Stevenson, as governor, proposed to name an outstanding supporter of public housing as chairman of the State Housing Board, Merriam was one of those who argued—privately—against the choice on the ground that it would antagonize the real estate interests.

Merriam has great resourcefulness; if he defeats Daley he will need all of it and more besides. For it is a certainty that about forty of the fifty members of the City Council will be Democrats, most of whom will be bitterly opposed to him.

Merriam, taking his cue from a press which is mostly for him, has chosen as his campaign tune a song of hate against "the machine." He knows that a large number of citizens can always be aroused against an organization that has remained in power over a long space of years. The Chicago *Tribune,* apparently hesitant at first, finally came out for Merriam in an editorial remarkably reasonable in tone for the McCormick press, which summed up the attitude of many Chicagoans:

> Mr. Daley is a clean living man and we should be greatly surprised if ever a financial scandal touched him personally or if he ever was found to have taken a dishonest penny. In this respect, there is nothing to choose between the candidates, but if Mr. Daley is elected, he will be under obligations, and heavy ones, to a political gang some of whose members have already got rich in politics. Many more of these colleagues of Mr. Daley intend to get rich just as fast as conditions will permit. They regard Mr. Daley as a condition which will permit. Mayor Kennelly was dumped precisely because he was a condition which would not permit.

The only Chicago newspaper which has come out for Daley is

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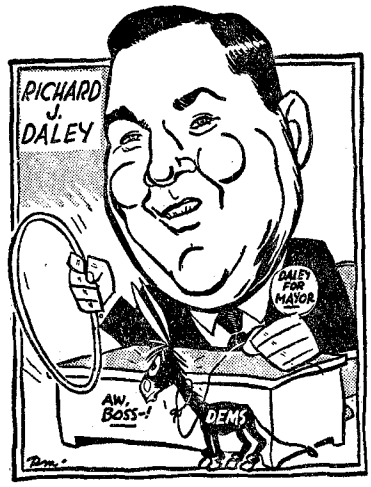
Hearst's *American,* which had supported Kennelly in the primaries.

On one occasion Merriam and Daley debated the "machine" issue. Daley declared that a political party is a machine only "when you oppose it." Merriam countered by defining a machine "as a political organization using politics and government for personal profit, enrichment, and aggrandizement" and said that the local Democratic Party is such a machine. Daley asked if the Republican Party in Cook County is any less a machine. The fact is that there are elements in both parties here which could well be eliminated —for example, the West Side block of syndicate politicians.

Daley has been deemed to be representative of the better elements in the Democatic organization. He built up a reputation for integrity and stability in his various posts as Democratic leader in the state senate, director of the Department of Finance under Governor Stevenson, and Cook County Clerk. Now when he is smeared with "the machine" he is being found "guilty by association." He asks why his opponents don't point out what wrongs he personally has committed, instead of dwelling upon the machine or the tragic case of his whilom running-mate, Alderman Benjamin M. Becker, who was forced off the ticket when it was charged that he had split fees. The one break that Daley has gotten thus far is that in the resulting reshuffle Morris B. Sachs, a business man of great popular appeal (long a sponsor of a famous Amateur Hour), has now become the Daley Democratic candidate for city treasurer.

FIVE YEARS ago the Cook County Democratic Organization nominated for sheriff Captain Dan Gilbert, "the world's richest cop," and brought down upon itself a political disaster —from which it is still suffering. Even Stevenson's loss of Illinois in 1952 is traceable, in some measure, to it. Daley, selected as county chairman over the opposition of the old guard, felt that if the Democrats were to make gains or even hold their own, then the strategic office of sheriff had to be rewon. For that purpose he sought a man of impeccable reputation, familiar with but outside the ranks of party hacks.



As the pro-Merriam Chicago Daily News *sees the Democratic candidate.*

It was then he thought of Dr. Joseph D. Lohman, a man with an impressive list of professional and civic achievements.

Run-of-the-mill politicians display little enthusiasm for giving juicy offices to men who are not ready to hand out plums to the deserving. When I asked a shrewd and somewhat liberal politician if he thought Lohman had a chance to be nominated for sheriff, he roared, "Are you crazy?" There was a real fight to get the nomination for Lohman, commencing with the effort to interest the man himself in the job. He had never run for elective office and didn't know if he would like it. Lined up against him were the ward leaders who don't want their little duchies invaded by Negroes, public-housing projects, or any other sign of social progress. The result of the ward committeemen's ballot was much closer than has been publicly admitted. Only the support of Colonel Arvey, his law partner, Barnet Hodes, and his handyman, County Commissioner Arthur X. Elrod, won for Lohman.

Benjamin S. Adamowski, a political maverick from the hectic days of Governor Horner, has been a complicating factor in the present campaign. He was the first to announce his candidacy in the Democratic primaries—even before the November election. He said from the outset that he was in the race to the end, whoever the other candidates might be; and he did remain in the race even when it became apparent that his chances were nil.

Adamowski had been corporation counsel early in the Kennelly administration. Unable, he said, to stomach the mayor's lack of leadership, he left before the end of Kennelly's first term. In the current race he had counted upon having only one primary opponent—either Kennelly or the one chosen by the organization to replace him. Adamowski could not have known, when he made his decision in October, that the Democrats would be in the mood to toss out Kennelly, that Kennelly—who would have been glad to withdraw had he been asked nicely—would flare up in anger and do battle against the machine.

Thus Adamowski found himself with two primary foes—the incumbent and Daley. And, because the newspapers saw here a golden opportunity to smite if not smash the Democratic machine, he also found himself without any real organized support. He was everybody's second choice. This was all the more frustrating because it was generally admitted even by his opponents, that he was the best man for the job.

ONLY THE newspapers have taken Kennelly's defeat harder than Kennelly himself. They have not even begun to give up hope of punishing the Democrats by trouncing Daley. On this issue the liberal *Sun-Times* is even more partisan than the *Tribune.* During much of Kennelly's administration the newspapers justly criticized him for inaction and lack of leadership, the same charges made by the Democratic leaders who finally dropped him. Now they claim that he was dumped by a combination of greedy politicians and criminals. The fact is that the worst elements of the Democratic Party did want to get rid of Kennelly; but so did the best elements. The mayor is a decent, sometimes likeable man who has shown little stomach for battle. During his eight years in office, he never made a speech or issued a statement in support of even the best of his party's candidates, including Stevenson, Douglas, and Lohman. If the machine is too strong, it is because Kennelly abdicated his responsibilities.

The ace card of the newspapers and of the Republicans is the City Council's Emergency Crime Com-

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mittee, created by the Democrats and once headed by Merriam. Merriam resigned as chairman when he announced his mayoralty candidacy, insisting that he did not want to play politics with the committee. Irwin Cohen, the committee's counsel, who was acting United States Attorney here in the early days of the Eisenhower Administration, wants to delay public hearings until the election is out of the way and he has fully gathered and sifted his evidence. But his chief investigator, Downey Rice, has resigned and is now playing with the Republicans. It would not be surprising if at a strategic moment before the election, Cohen's successor as United States Attorney, Robert Tieken, or one of Governor Stratton's handymen, comes up with some well publicized indictments involving one or another of Daley's supporters. This is a tough campaign and a lot of things can happen even in its closing stretch.

L'AFFAIRE POUJADE

France's Aspiring Fuehrer . . *by J. A. del Vayo*

Paris

THE LEADER of what has come to be known here as "the revolt against taxation" is Pierre Poujade, a 34-year-old Frenchman of the provinces—square-shouldered, vivacious, with a confident smile, malicious small eyes, and an *eloquence torrential*. He is rapidly—and unexpectedly—becoming the Number 1 headache of the Edgar Faure government. A fortnight ago he watched from the gallery of the National Assembly as his rebellion nearly but not quite gained enough strength on the floor to bring on another government crisis. Early last week he made international headlines with a plea to French retailers to declare a tax strike and, as this is written, he is preparing another attack on the government in connection with Faure's fiscal reform bill.

Known as the "chief" to the members of the Organization in Defense of Tradesmen and Artisans (U. D. C. A.), Poujade began his crusade against taxes less than two years ago in the village of Saint-Cere in southern France. Here he harangued a small audience of shopkeepers and artisans on the inviting theme that the cause of all their miseries was the tax collector. This is the kind of gospel which travels with electrifying speed, and from small meetings in crowded town halls Poujade quickly moved on to more imposing platforms. In January he did what only truly national figures in France can do: he packed the Velodrome d'Hiver, the Paris equivalent of New York's Madison Square Garden, for a three-hour speech arguing that the French governmental system was rotten, root and branch, and that until it was replaced with something better no one should pay a sou to support it.

Poujade surrounds his meetings with demagogic trappings remindful of an earlier decade in Italy and in Germany. At the velodrome meeting, for instance, the packed audience was asked to stand in silence while the "chief" made his way down a long aisle to the speaker's platform. But it is not the *poujadiste* trappings alone which evoke uneasy memories. In Poujade's speeches, and in those of his lieutenants, the anti-parliamentary and anti-democratic overtones are unmistakeable. He appeals to "the people" to get rid of the "old politicians"; "thanks to us," he told his followers recently, "France has found itself again. . . . We are the nation's last hope." He has referred to parliament as a "dungheap" and to some deputies as "traitors" who must be "wiped out." His philosophy is an admixture of racism, xenophobia, and anti-intellectualism. To join his organization, one must not only pledge not to pay taxes, but also to prove that at least three of one's grandparents are French. Implicit in his every major pronouncement is the argument that only through a "strong man" can France find its salvation.

French labor is awakening to the danger of the man and his movement. Last week the Roman Catholic labor federation attacked Poujade's "Fascist methods"; the Socialist federation, Force Ouvriere, described the movement as "camouflage for a veritable Fascist organization."

Poujade's program consists of eight planks, five of which are vaguely phrased variations of one which calls for "a revision of social laws in a spirit of equality among all Frenchmen." The other three are imperatives: a total and immediate fiscal amnesty, the suspension of all tax collections, and "abrogation of the Dorey amendment" under which fines and jail sentences may be imposed on persons who urge others not to pay taxes.

IN JOINING Poujade's organization the initiate signs a formal letter announcing his determination no longer to pay taxes. Such letters are collected by "activists" in each locality and delivered en masse to the authorities. From the outset, then, the government finds that it is dealing not with individuals but with large groups which subsequently show a united front against the tax officials. An investigator, bent on looking into an individual case of non-payment in a small community, may be met by dozens of shopkeepers who have closed their businesses and gathered in the public square as a gesture of defiance. Sometimes only the *amour propre* of the investigator is hurt, but on occasions he has been attacked physically. Sometimes the tax rebels will form a protective wall around the business establishment whose proprietor is sought by the investigator. Even if the government manages to close a case against a tax rebel, the

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poujadistes cause difficulties. As in the United States and elsewhere, the French government under certain conditions may auction the property of a non-taxpayer and pocket the proceeds in lieu of taxes. But in a manner reminiscent of the early 1930's in the United States, when farmers banded together to protect themselves against mortgage foreclosures, so the *poujadistes* today jam the public-auction hall and by concerted action keep the bids ridiculously low. Any individual who is tempted by a bargain to break the low-bid agreement suffers later reprisals. Thus the *poujadiste's* property is bought for practically nothing and, after the auction, he gets it all back.

So it goes in town after town in the provinces—in Dole, Haute-Vienne, Cotes-du-Nord. Meetings and demonstrations keep the populace in a continuing state of excitement. And every two weeks Poujade and his six major aides foregather from all over the country for consultation in the "Eagle's Nest" of the movement—a small hotel near Saint-Cere, where the U. D. C. A. was born.

The movement puts out a weekly periodical with a circulation of 400,000. Actual membership may be a little less, and is mostly concentrated in the provinces. Its power as a potential voting bloc has already been dramatically illustrated in the National Assembly, when Faure had to ask for what was virtually a vote of confidence in order to defeat a series of *poujadistes* proposals. But the French treasury has been feeling the pressure more even than has parliament. In central France, where the *poujadistes* are strongest, one out of ten departments show tax collections nearly 50 per cent below normal. For a long time the Ministry of Finance tended to minimize the importance of the movement. Perhaps the ministry hoped that, if ignored, the *poujadistes* would fall apart of themselves; perhaps it feared that publicity would only help them. But of recent weeks a different policy has been followed. The ministry has acknowledged publicly that tax receipts in many departments have fallen off seriously. As this is written the Ministry of the Interior, with jurisdiction over the police, is in conference with provincial prefectures, and the reports it is getting from various parts of the country are said to be far from reassuring. Judicial authorities have begun a John Doe investigation based on an anonymous tract, calling upon French tradesmen to withhold tax payments, which Poujade has admitted was written and circulated by one of his lieutenants. The "chief" denied the document was an official publication of the U. D. C. A., but declared that he would support the author if charges

Pierre Poujade

were brought against him. French law provides that persons who by physical violence, threats, or collective measures attempt to organize collective refusal to pay taxes shall be punished by prison terms ranging up to two years and fines up to $.,000.

POUJADE and his lieutenants are treating the law with steadily increasing disdain; many of his rank-and-file followers show even bolder defiance. Official requests for payment of taxes have been returned to the tax offices with the words "tax strike" scrawled across them. The incapacity or unwillingness of local authorities to take effective counteraction naturally increases the self-confidence of the tax rebels. Each defeat for the government, no matter how small the case, is a resounding victory for the *poujadistes*.

It is estimated that the potential membership of the Poujade organization may be something over 1,000,000—the figure generally used for the number of retailers in France. Apparently U. D. C. A. has organized almost half them already. Some of France's leading newspapers are beginning to comment on the manner in which the National Assembly is cringing before this powerful vote potential. *Figaro* comments that the deputies have the "election jitters" and that the government is losing power to control lawlessness. *Le Monde* said of parliament: "Rarely has so little logic been combined with so much cowardice." The question in everyone's mind is whether Faure will show the leadership necessary to stiffen parliament against the demagogic appeal of the *poujadistes*.

THE WEAKNESS of the movement lies in the fact that although it deals with an economic problem, its leader is an illiterate in the subject. But his ignorance is a bond between him and most of his followers; certainly it does not prevent him from voicing the deep resentment of the small business man toward a tax system that almost every objective observer in France agrees is unfair. In parliament on March 3 the Count of Chambrun, one of the deputies belonging to Pierre Cot's left-wing Progressive group, delivered a devastating attack on the system which the representative of the Ministry of Finance found impossible to answer. Poujade, like Hitler did before him, is playing upon the grievances of a middle and lower-middle class, and the fact that the grievances are genuine makes him all the more dangerous.

The "chief's" ignorance of economics is compensated for by his astute political flair. While the raison d'etre for his movement remains the tax problem, its interests are by no means limited to taxes. This is a pre-election year in France, and the major political groupings are jockeying for position among an electorate as fragmented as it has ever been. Poujade sees the coming months as offering opportunity for him to gain the support of innumerable local political leaders. The bait is the tax amnesty; the ultimate goal is "a revision of the social and political legislation" of France in a direction which Poujade's demagogic pronouncements are making all too clear.

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SKIDS UNDER LABOR

The Right-to-Work Laws . . . *by Eleanor G. Astor*

WHEN Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell spoke before the C. I. O. convention in California last December, he condemned moves by employer groups to form a national organization dedicated to obtaining the passage of "right-to-work" laws in all states. In taking this stand he alerted the nation to the fact that the drive to pass these laws in individual states was a nation-wide conspiracy.

After the Taft-Hartley Act was passed over President Truman's veto in 1947, right-to-work laws were enacted in Arizona, Arkansas, Georgia, Iowa, Nebraska, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Before then only one state, Florida, had such a statute. With the election of Eisenhower in 1952, anti-labor forces were strengthened, and between 1952 and 1954 five additional states —Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Nevada—passed similar legislation.

All these seventeen states are predominantly agricultural; most of them are in the South. But this year a vigorous effort is being made to get right-to-work laws passed in industrial states. The campaign has been organized by the National Association of Manufacturers, the United States Chamber of Commerce, and other well-financed lobbies.

IN ESSENCE, right-to-work laws forbid all forms of union security—the closed shop, the union shop, and any contract which would bind workers to the union for any period of time. In short, they negate all federal legislation, including the Taft-Hartley Act, that recognizes the right of employees to organize and bargain collectively. They are anti-labor laws and the title given them is as misleading as the slogan "creeping socialism."

The drive has been given impetus by the Administration's policy of shifting power to the states. The repudiation of federal responsibilities gives big business more opportunities to break the back of labor. At present the battle is being fought in Maryland, where citizens with the blessings of local chambers of commerce have set up a 'right-to-work" committee headed by Edward P. Colwill, a general contractor of Baltimore. Mr. Colwill says that neither his committee nor the law wishes to hurt unions, but he insists that new business concerns should not be prevented from setting their own wage scales. "It is nonsense," he says, "to pretend that new business, young business, can immediately contract with unions to pay the going rates paid by well-established large firms." Apparently Mr. Colwill would like to use the right-to-work law to undercut union wage scales. Maurice A. Hutcheson, president of the A. F. of L. Carpenters and Joiners, believes that Mr. Colwill and his committee would not hesitate to use "the lunch baskets of workingmen and their kids as the legitimate seeds of future industrial expansion," and that in their view "the hide of the workers is the place from which to extract competitive advantage."

The method of promoting right-to-work legislation has followed a similar pattern in most of the states. Local chambers of commerce, trade associations, associated industries, and other business groups combine to set up an organization that is supposedly non-profit and educational. Influential men from all over the state are chosen as a board of directors. The message is spread through newspaper advertising, purchase of time on radio and television, the circulation of petitions, and the efforts of county committees. According to union representatives in Kansas, business concerns begin by sponsoring "a rather comprehensive proposal for general anti-labor legislation. In time they concentrate more specifically on legislation to prohibit union security. They wave the flag and talk about an individual's right-to-work' They use the old tactic of picking a single strike or labor issue and constantly play it up in the newspapers and their own literature."

Propaganda put out by the United States Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers includes leaflets proclaiming that when a worker is forced into a union against his will 'he has lost the freedom which our Declaration of Independence was written to preserve." Not based on such high principle is the claim that the union shop is a device for securing a monopoly of power which encourages violence, vice, and gangsterism. "The individual worker has little or nothing to gain from a union shop. He may have a great deal to lose. The union leaders are the real beneficiaries . . . the main purpose is as a device for forcing submission to labor leaders' authority." In a pamphlet entitled "What's the Answer to Labor Violence and Coercion?" the Missouri Chamber of Commerce has come up with a viciously distorted picture of law-breaking labor unions: "Armed roving gangs patrol construction jobs terrorizing would-be dissenters. . . . Union meeting rooms are spotted with thugs. . . . Hundreds of thousands of dollars are paid to union leaders under threat of being forced to hire extra help."

Clergymen of all denominations have joined the unions in combating this propaganda. They declare right-to-work laws are immoral because they prevent men from forming associations with their fellow-men to attain a better way of living. They also say that these laws are undemocratic, since they permit the individual worker to defy the wishes of the

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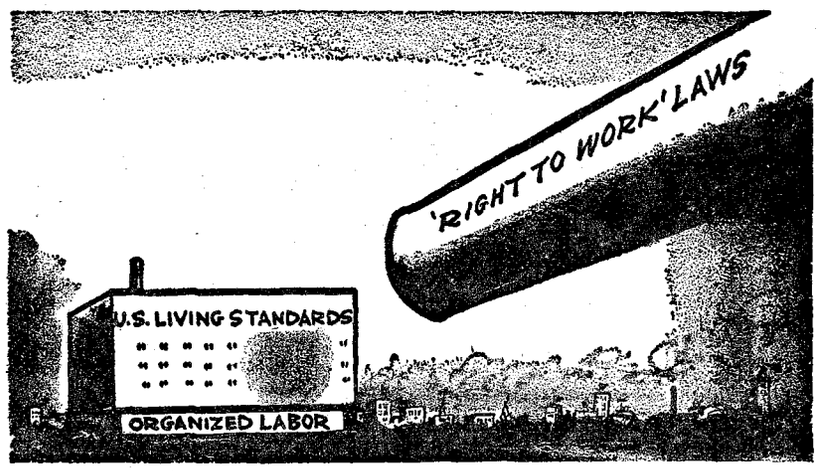
majority. The unions argue that the title of the laws, "right to work," has nothing to do with their substance, since they neither give nor guarantee the worker the right to obtain or hold a job.

That union security is needed and is socially desirable in the United States today can be seen from the results of the secret-ballot elections held under the National Labor Relations Board between 1947 and 1951. Under the terms of the Taft-Hartley Act at that time a union could not negotiate for security provisions in a collective-bargaining agreement unless a majority of the workers in the union had voted for them. Of the 45,119 elections conducted by the N. L. R. B. in that period, 97 per cent gave a majority for union security. So overwhelming was the support for it that the law was amended to eliminate the necessity for the N. L. R. B. elections.

Without a union shop the security of a union is always threatened, since higher wages can temporarily be paid to non-union workers for the sole purpose of destroying the union. Required to fight constantly for its survival, the union would have little time for activities in other areas.

IN BOTH principle and practice the union shop is almost identical with the American system of self-government. A union can be established only if the majority of workers in a shop vote to have one. Only the elected representatives of the workers can negotiate with the employer for a contract. Once the contract has been negotiated it is brought back to the workers for their approval. Just as in a democracy all citizens must abide by the will of the majority, in a union shop all workers must comply with the contract conditions as negotiated by their elected representatives and approved by the shop members.

Part of the appeal of right-to-work laws is the belief that they will attract industry to the South. Mayor H. C. Rhodes of Pelehatchie, Mississippi, in a letter urging a Connecticut manufacturer to bring a branch of his plant to the "veritable industrial paradise" of Pelehatchie, wrote: "Our wonderful labor, 98 per cent native born, mostly high school graduates, will lower average hourly industrial wage rates 6 to 49 cents below other Southern states and from 50 to 95 cents below Northern rates. . . . This labor is truly American, not inflicted with the 'something for nothing' idea, and works together joyously with management for the success of both. . . . No one will tell you whom you must employ, and all detrimental state laws for industrial operations have been repealed." However, a recent publication put out by the Washington, D. C., office of the C. I. O. entitled "The Case Against Right to Work" and the legal brief presented by the Kansas State Industrial Union Council have definitely established that state anti-labor laws are not a major factor in bringing either industry or commerce to a given area. In no way do such laws represent real economic advantage to a state.



Partymiller in York Gazette and Daily

The Real Target

To the extent that right-to-work laws may temporarily maintain a low-wage structure, they impede the expansion of consumer income. This means that they limit the growth of markets—a powerful attraction to industry and commerce. In point of fact, their enactment can attract only low-wage, anti-union soft-goods plants in which labor costs represent a high percentage of total production costs. They do keep unions on the defensive, but past experience in this country makes it clear that so long as basic freedoms exist, workers in industrialized areas will somehow manage to organize. Labor Department statistics indicate that area wage differentials are narrowing and that the national trend is toward their elimination.

Extensive research by C. I. O. representatives in the seventeen "right-to-work" states has produced no evidence that these laws have been of any aid to their current economic development. In fact, the available data show that the rate of economic advance has slowed down in those states since 1947, when most of this legislation was adopted. In Texas, for example, non-farm employment rose 62 per cent in the eight years between 1939 and 1947, an average yearly increase of 7.8 per cent. But in the five years between 1947 and 1952 it rose only 2 per cent, an annual increase of 5.6 per cent.

Most of the states that adopted right-to-work laws in 1947 had expanded their economic activity in the years 1939-47, largely in response to government activities—the war effort, defense mobilization, atomic energy, and resource-development programs like the Tennessee Valley Authority. In addition, new plants in these areas were given financial assistance by the federal government because it wished to disperse strategic industries. All sections of the country shared in the benefits of the expanding economy during these years, but the Southern states, starting from lower levels than others, made the most rapid strides.

Right-to-work laws do not cut down the incidence of strikes. In 1952 the incidence rate in two of the "right-to-work" states was far above the national average of 7 per cent. The case for right-to-work legislation is based on nothing but the obsession of business men that labor must be curbed. It aids neither the workers, the unions, nor the growth of our national economy.

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AFRO-ASIAN CONFERENCE

The Nation here presents two reports on the important Afro-Asian Conference to be held this month in Bandung, Indonesia—one written by a distinguished Indian diplomat, whose country was a prime mover in calling the conference, and the other by an Australian, whose country will not participate. K. M. Panniker was India's Ambassador to China in 1948-53, and is the author of "Asia and Western Democracy"; C. P. Fitzgerald, author of "Revolution in China" and other books on the Far East is on the faculty of the Australian National University.

The proceedings of the unique conference will be covered for The Nation *by Sam Jaffe, an experienced American correspondent who is now on his way to Southeast Asia.*

Symbol of Independence

. . by K. M. Pannikar

New Delhi

THE SIGNIFICANT fact about the Afro-Asian Conference which opens at Bandung on April 18 is that for the first time Asian and African leaders are conferring among themselves about matters of interest to their peoples and to the world in general. Till 1946 it was an axiom in international diplomacy that the affairs of Asia were to be determined by a conference of Western powers. Even today the European powers seem unhappily not to have grown out of this way of thinking. The Geneva Conference on Indo-China was attended by France, England, and America, but not by Burma, a neighboring country, or by Indonesia or India, which have at least as much interest in peace in this area as Britain or America. SEATO, the object of which is supposedly to protect Asia from aggression, consists of five Western powers—United States, Britain, France, Australia and New Zealand—and only three Asian nations. Nothing could bring out more clearly the conviction of the West that they know best what is good for the East.

It is against this background that the Afro-Asian Conference must be viewed. The first Asian conference, held in Delhi in 1946, was meant to indicate that Asia was awake. At that time no Asian country except China was in a position to formulate independent views. Japan was under occupation; India, Burma, and Indonesia were only on the road to freedom. The second Asian conference, also held in Delhi, was for the specific purpose of mobilizing opinion against Dutch aggression in Java. Thus the present conference is the first clear affirmation of the right of Asian and African people to an independent voice in the settlement of their own affairs.

The composition of the conference is important. From Japan to the Gold Coast, most Asian and African states which are either independent or on the way, have been invited. In addition to the states of Southeast Asia—including the two SEATO powers, Thailand and the Philippines—and the Middle East countries which constitute the Arab-Asian group in the U. N., the sponsors have invited those African nations which are practically self-governing and struggling to be independent: the Sudan, the Gold Coast, and Nigeria—states which are entitled to speak for "Black Africa." The People's Republic of China and Japan are taking part in the conference, a fact which adds greatly to its importance.

The omissions are no less significant. Chiang Kai-shek's government could hardly be invited, as the convening powers recognize only the Peking government. Most of the Asian and African nations have so far refused to recognize the regime of Dr. Syngman Rhee as the legal government of the whole of Korea. While the omission of these states is understandable, the case of Israel is one which cannot be so easily explained. The difficulty presumably was that the host country, Indonesia, has not recognized it, and the Arab nations would not attend a conference which included it.

It may well be asked what there is in common between Ethiopia and Japan, Nigeria and China, the Gold Coast and Indonesia. On the face of it, the conference would appear to be a collection of incompatibles: Thailand and the Philippines, both members of SEATO; the Sudan and the African states, not yet fully independent; Communist China and the Arab countries, which have so far not recognized Peking. Yet these disparate states have a fundamental unity of approach to certain major problems. The most obvious point is their desire to see the right of all nations to freedom accepted as a general principle. All the participating states except Japan have at one time or another been under colonial rule. Though some among them—especially in Southeast Asia—are equally if not more apprehensive of communism than of imperialism, there is no denying the fact that for most of them the immediate problem is the danger which they see of a return to the principle of Great Power protection, which appears to them to be nothing less than colonial rule under a new guise. The maintenance of independence against both colonialism and communism is the first point on which the majority of these nations are united.

A SECOND issue on which they are united is the principle of racial equality. Though the problem today is mainly confined to Africa, the Asian states are no less concerned, for the doctrine of *apartheid* in South Africa is directed as much against Asians as against Africans. It will be remembered that Japan championed the cause of Asian equality as long ago as 1919 at the peace conference in Paris. In the U. N., India and other Asian countries have been fighting strenuously for the acceptance of the principle. To the African, this is the one overriding question.

A third and equally important

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issue facing Bandung is the fear of nuclear weapons. The nations which threaten each other with A- and H-bombs are having difficulty enough to provide for protection against the effects of explosions. The nations of Asia and Africa are altogether helpless. These countries see themselves threatened with annihilation in a war which they do not consider their own and in which they do not want to become involved.

THE conference is in no sense intended as an attack against either of the power blocs. If Communist China is represented, so are the three powers associated closely with the United States in SEATO—Pakistan, Thailand, and the Philippines. Neither is the meeting designed to create a third bloc. Apart from nations like India, Burma, Indonesia, and Afghanistan, which pursue a policy of non-involvement, the rest of the participating states are closely allied to one bloc or the other. Clearly the conference cannot reach decisions on major policies. For this reason it would not be right to judge its work merely by the resolutions it adopts or the communiques it issues. Its historic importance lies in the fact that the Asian and African leaders, men who understand their people and are able to speak for them, are meeting to discuss freely the problems which affect them all, especially their right to unhampered development in political and economic spheres.

The Issues at Stake

. . by C. P. Fitzgerald

Canberra

THE FORTHCOMING Afro-Asian Conference represents the most positive expression so far achieved of the Indian policy of "non-alignment." The independent nations of Asia and the few independent states of Africa are meeting to settle the causes of friction between them and to demonstrate to the West that Asia is well able to handle its own affairs without interference from the West. For this reason the conference has not had a very good Western press. Although the former colonial powers are now resigned, with more or less good grace, to the independence of their erstwhile colonies, they are still reluctant to admit that they no longer have anything to say about affairs. Obsessed with the dramatic clash of communism and democracy (it is no longer fashionable to contrast communism with capitalism), the West is impatient of the theory of non-alignment, which is believed to be unrealistic and thus an element of weakness in the struggle against communism. If the countries which adhere to non-alignment were in fact to be invaded by aggressive communism, would not the West have to come to their rescue—not from affection, but from fear of any increase to Communist strength?

The Indian view would not deny that this situation could arise, but claims that the possibility of it happening is made more remote by the policy of non-alignment. The difference in view stems ultimately from a different assessment of the forces behind Asiatic communism. The West easily assumes that China's motives are closely allied to those of Russia; the Asians see China primarily as one of themselves, an Asian people which has achieved independence and strength, not perhaps in the way they would like to see, but none the less an example to them all. The Indians therefore believe that China has limited objectives which can be realized without prejudice to the rest of Asia, and that it has legitimate grievances which should be redressed by the offending powers—principally the United States—which have refused recognition to Peking and opposed its admission to the U. N.

In a sense the conference is thus a demonstration against the negative attitude of the West toward China. China is invited, and so is Japan; even more pointed, so is Thailand, a nation which expresses considerable hostility toward China, and is the most fervent Asian supporter of SEATO. Clearly the invitations represent an attempt to prove that cooperation is possible among Asian states even of markedly opposed ideology.

What are the difficulties which could be solved by a conference at which Chinese meet Thais under the benevolent chairmanship of Indians? Undoubtedly the most important is the question of the overseas Chinese, who are numerous in Indonesia, a major problem in Thailand, and of some importance in Burma and the Philippines. The Asian nations of the non-alignment bloc are anxious to show that their relatively friendly attitude to China will be rewarded with a satisfactory settlement. Thus it could be proved that the Chinese are not unreasonable if approached with friendship, and that coexistence can have a concrete meaning.

India and Indonesia, supported by Burma, will therefore propose that China should clearly and unequivocally agree that the overseas Chinese adopt the nationality of their host country, renounce "dual nationality"—by which they could continue to count as Chinese in China's eyes—and cease to cast backward looks toward China whenever they find the policies of the host country inconvenient. China may be expected to ask in turn that the host countries prohibit the activity of Kuomintang agents and to drop all legislation discriminating against naturalized Chinese.

IT IS of course obvious that even if some such undertaking is agreed upon by all the governments concerned, it is not possible to make Chinese into Indonesians or Burmese overnight, nor to make Indonesians and Burmese regard their new fellow citizens as the same as themselves. But if the dual nationality claim were definitely renounced by Peking, and discriminatory legislation repealed by the host countries, there can be little doubt that the problem would be much reduced. The overseas Chinese, most of whom are either wealthy or at least prosperous shopkeepers and merchants, are not inclined to communism. Clearly, however, Peking will demand assurances that there be rigid control of Kuomintang activity among them.

If this major issue can be solved the impression made upon Thailand, which has the largest proportionate Chinese minority, and which at present pursues a strong anti-

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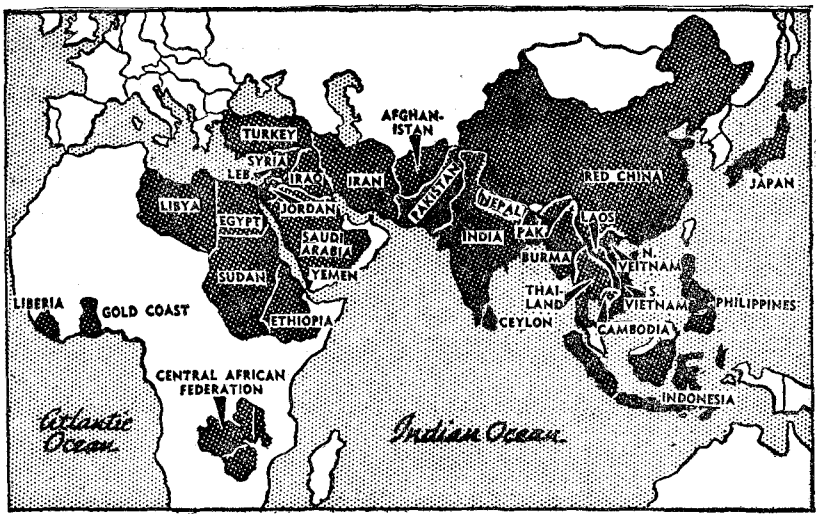

Shaded areas indicate countries which will be represented at the Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung.

Chinese internal policy, will be deep. Thailand may also find that another question will be called up for discussion. Just beyond its northern border, in the southern Shan states of Burma, there still remains a large force of Chinese Nationalist troops, who, after they were driven out of Yunnan, crossed into Burma. Some of them were withdrawn to Formosa after Burma lodged a complaint at the U. N. which clearly implicated Thailand as responsible for keeping them supplied and in communication with Formosa. But many still remain. The Burmese army succeeded in driving them south to the Thai border, where they have made contact with the Karen rebels, still in arms against Burma. It is known that these Chinese still get supplies from Thailand, send their sick to Chieng Mai for treatment, and by their position on the frontier make it difficult for the Burmese army to act against them. If Burma makes them an issue at the conference, China can be counted upon to give support, and India will certainly lend its weight behind any peaceful solution of what might become a very dangerous dispute. The fact that it is a dispute which Western diplomacy, at the U. N. and elsewhere, has so far failed to solve, and one in which Western good faith has been called in question in Asia, is a further reason why the conference should try to solve it.

The conference can be relied upon to pass with unanimity some resolutions condemning the continuance of the colonial system. This issue, at least, is not controversial in Asia, provided no one raises the point that Indonesian control of West New Guinea would be just as "colonial" as the present Dutch regime. Whether the conference will broach this thorny dispute, and make some recommendation less inconsistent than a mere replacement of Dutch rule by that of Jakarta, cannot be foreseen.

EQUALLY, no hint has been let out whether the conference will pay attention to the most urgent question of all in East Asia, that of Formosa and the islands of Matsu and Quemoy. With China in attendance, it would seem probable that some discussion of this question can hardly be avoided, yet as the policy of non-alignment seeks to avoid inflaming existing disputes, while seeking for solutions acceptable to both sides, any pronouncement will need to be very carefully worded. Independent Asian opinion is strongly on the side of Peking in this matter; on the subsidiary question of the offshore islands, it is wholly so. Yet the non-alignment bloc will not wish to sponsor or subscribe to any Chinese resolution violently condemning the actions of the United States. Perhaps informal meetings outside the conference hall will be more fruitful in exploring possible approaches to the problem than any formal resolution.

Although the conference is primarily an Asian affair, and the matters with which it is likely to deal are mainly Asian or African, it would be a mistake for the West to ignore the proceedings or to treat any results which may be achieved as of secondary importance. Measured by the scale of H-bomb warfare, the Asian nations are weak, but the very fact that total war now means H-bomb war has given diplomacy a new significance. Instead of being the attempt to prevent war, or to prepare favorable combinations of powers to wage war, diplomacy must now replace war as the final instrument of policy. No war on the full scale which now threatens the world can possibly be an instrument of policy since its results would make all policy vain. It is in this sense that the collective views of the Asian nations become more important than their real military strength would suggest.

IT DOES not follow that there will be any unanimous views on major policy put forward by a conference which includes representatives of such differing countries as China, Japan, Thailand, and India. Some local settlements may be achieved, some general expression of principles put forth, but it is probable that many nations are sending delegations more to assay the usefulness of such gatherings than in the expectation of clear-cut results. Japan, under the newly elected government of Hatoyama, may use the meeting at Bandung for tentative trade approaches to China. Japan is by no means wholly prepared to take sides among the Asian nations, especially in any movement which has a complexion hostile to the West. On the other hand, the conference gives it an opportunity for diplomatic maneuver in which its newly regained independence can be asserted. China, while possibly willing to settle the question of dual nationality among the overseas Chinese, probably sees the conference as an opportunity to gain support for its claims and sympathy for its grievances. If the meeting achieves some results it will certainly not be the last of its kind. From such meetings there may emerge a general Asian policy which the West ultimately will have to meet. The conference will mark a long step in the consolidation and clarification of the policy of Asian non-alignment.

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BOOKS

Studs Lonigan Forever

By John W. Aldridge

"REFLECTIONS AT FIFTY" * brings together what James T. Farrell considers to be the most interesting of the literary and occasional essays he has written in recent years. It is not an important collection, for Farrell is not an important mind, except by comparison with what in America we deem to be mentality in the creative artist, nor is his influence as a novelist or critic any longer to be very seriously reckoned with. He now has, to be sure, a kind of "place" in American letters; we judge him perhaps as the last of the *natural* writers in the tradition stemming from Norris and Dreiser; and recently he has taken on something of that curiosity or luxury value which writers in this country tend around fifty to come into by virtue of the fact—which we somehow never cease to find remarkable—that like Clark Gable and Gary Cooper they have managed to survive to that age. But one cannot say of Farrell that he promises to share with us a productive old age in the manner of Shaw or Mann or that at some time prior to old age we can expect him to resume work upon the foundation which he began to build with "Studs Lonigan" and has since incessantly built over. We therefore find him in this volume engaged upon a typical menopausal literary effort: the consolidation of ideas and insights which he experienced to greater purpose twenty years ago and which represent a defensive position which is no longer under attack. The book nevertheless is an instructive document, the record of an almost ludicrously earnest intelligence, and it instructs us best on those occasions when it does not appear to know how much it is instructing us in the way that intelligence educated itself and in the role which self-education, (in this case, after college) played in shaping the attitudes, morals, and modes to which that intelligence gave expression in literature.

*Vanguard Press. $3.75

JOHN W. ALDRIDGE is the author of "After the Lost Generation" and the editor of "Critiques and Essays on Modern Fiction." His new book of criticism will be published late this year.

SELF-EDUCATION comes high in America, and Farrell has paid for it—as in differing respects have Faulkner and Hemingway—with his whole career. Its cost to him consists in the fact that the attitudes it has given him are largely provincial; the morals are parochial; and the modes are pedantic, for it appears to be the case with the self-educated literary man in America that he tends always to confuse learning and pedantry, and that in pursuing the one he will caricature the other. But for an intelligence of a different quality and grain from Farrell's the cost is not necessarily so high. The self-educated critic R. P. Blackmur, for example, is similarly afflicted with pedantry: in some areas he has informed himself to a degree that is very nearly saintly. But Blackmur's intelligence derives its great compulsive force from precisely its ignorance of what the formal limits and conventions of learning are, of just how much work it has to do in order to graduate at the head of its class. The result is that in the course of expiating his ignorance (which I am certain he always believes to be profound) Blackmur outmodes the conventions by exceeding them. His fear of flunking out flunks out nine-tenths of his contemporaries. Farrell's pedantry, on the other hand, is of a peculiarly flaccid kind, the kind that caricatures itself because it is backed by a knowledge of what the conventions are and how to imitate them.

It becomes clear in reading over the prose in this volume that Farrell went to school, but it is just as clear that he went to school to the wrong teachers. His prose is a savage compound of rhetoric and jargon derived from French naturalist novels, the writings of William James, John Dewey, the Marxist and the German philosophers, political manifestos, and behaviorist psychology, and it appears to have gotten into the book by way of the dump truck and shovel. It has no rhythm, grace, warmth, or subtlety of style, and it is overlaid with a heavy-footed earnestness and zeal like that of a frightened schoolboy, pompous and pop-eyed, reciting a speech cribbed largely from the "Encyclopedia Britanica." In content it is approximately vintage of 1910. I do not mean that the questions it raises are necessarily no longer in force. It is rather that one no longer expects to see them discussed in quite this fashion and at this level. It is scarcely real any longer, for example, to observe of naturalism, as Farrell observes of it in one of these essays, that "it has been an attempt to meet and to reveal and to explore the nature of experience in the modern world." We now know that this is precisely what naturalism has consistently failed to do for the modern world and that that is the reason the best modern writers can no longer take it seriously. If they did, they would have to take seriously Newton on the nature of space and Spengler on the nature of Western society. But this is the nature of Farrell's provincialism, one consequence of his self-education, and we have no choice but to take it seriously.

THE other consequence, his moral parochialism, is the quality which above all others has impoverished his imagination and concerning the nature of which, by tone, by word, by unwitting confession, "Reflections at Fifty" is at times almost heartbreakingly informative. The more purely literary phase of his education Farrell apparently got principally from two men, Sherwood Anderson and Theodore Dreiser, about both of whom he has written here with honest admiration and feeling. What they passed on to him by precept and example was the great cranky lesson which had sustained them in their own mountainous dedication to their craft: the serious writer in America is a man besieged; lying in wait on all

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sides of him are forces of darkness and bigotry bent on stealing his virtue; he is a perpetual Penelope and at the same time he must serve as his own avenging Odysseus; his role must be one of unremitting, nerve-end vigilance. Anderson and Dreiser had early developed a paranoid revulsion to being touched; the cry of "Rape!" was forever on their lips; and if they wore their integrity a bit too enticingly high at the knee, it was because their right to integrity, their right to keep it or give it away, was constantly being challenged.

And this was the crux of Farrell's education in literary morals. Anderson and Dreiser taught him integrity; they took him aside and patted him on the head and told him always to speak the truth, my son, and no harm will ever come to you. They helped to develop in him the one quality for which today we rightly do him honor. But then Farrell stopped learning. He stopped right then and there with what he had and set himself up in practice as a writer of novels, a man of integrity, a speaker of the truth, all of which he was. The one truth he had was the truth of his early life on the South Side of Chicago when he was Studs Lonigan-cum-Danny O'Neill-cum-James T. Farrell, and after the manner of an Anderson "grotesque," he made this one truth his own. Then he began to discover that, just as his teachers had warned, there were dark forces about striving to keep him from speaking the truth. There were court injunctions, hostile critics, leagues of frightened philistines. His integrity was being threatened, and all that he knew to do, all that his education had taught him to do, was to speak the truth again and again in novel after novel until the dark forces either surrendered or were destroyed. It did not matter that it was substantially the same truth he spoke each time. The important thing was that it was The Truth.

He began to develop a compulsion, a repetition compulsion. Finally it became a fixture of his psychic life. He would sit in the midst of his own entrails, weaving them all day into a tapestry which he would unweave all night, just to keep the dark forces off guard. But he never learned how to be his own Odysseus. Even in middle age, while flying in a plane from Los Angeles to New York or while talking to a Russian official in Vienna, he tells us that his mind was not there, was not recording and absorbing fresh experience; it was back in the childhood world of his first and only truth with "Old Tom and Mary O'Flaherty, Jim and Liz O'Neill, Aunt Margaret, Aunt Louise, Uncle Al, little Danny." The integrity that became an obsession, the integrity that made him an honest writer, has held fast to its truth, and the truth now holds Farrell fast, blocking his ascent into the greatness that might have been his. It has forced him, instead, deeper and deeper into his pedantry, his thick, almost scholiastic preoccupation with every last physical detail of his world, until now in his last novel we find that even the details are running out and the truth has narrowed to the little circle of infancy and age. And above the monotonous drone of the language doing its remorseless work of geneology-tracing and visceral book-keeping, we catch the accent of a man patiently telling over the catechism which he was taught would get him to Heaven.

Salisbury in Russia

AMERICAN IN RUSSIA. By Harrison E. Salisbury. Harper and Brothers. $4.

By Mark Gayn

IT WAS a casual remark by the late Edwin L. James ("Is there any chance that the Russians would give you a visa?") that placed Harrison Salisbury in an aged wagons-lits car of the Moscow-bound "Red Arrow" express back in 1949. Though he dreaded the thought of returning to the Soviet Union, where he had been during the war, Salisbury was to remain there as the New York *Times* correspondent for the next five years —the last years of Stalin, the tense days in which Stalin's heirs disposed of Beria, and the months of what might now perhaps be called the "Malenkov interlude." During these years Salisbury came to be denounced as "pro-Soviet" by the extreme right in this country, as he was denounced as a "reactionary" for the syndicated series of articles he wrote on his return from Moscow.

These articles form the backbone of "American in Russia." Whether received with faith or doubt, they remain the most fascinating work on the Soviet Union done by an American in years. Like the articles, the book leaves many questions unanswered. Why, for instance, was Salisbury the only Western newspaperman to report the virtual seizure of Moscow by Beria's MVD troops, and the city's physical isolation, in the first seventy-five hours after Stalin's death? Which of the differing versions of these events was correct—Salisbury's or that, for instance, of a turncoat Soviet official writing in *Life*? Could censorship alone have been responsible for the astonishing contrast between Salisbury's on-the-spot reports from Central Asia or Siberia and what he has to say in the book? Granted Salisbury's premise that the Soviet government had made all normal contact with the Russian people impossible, did this not also mean that he had to rely primarily on embassy rumors, on gossip, intuition, and inferences from *Pravda*?

But with all these questions and

MARK GAYN is the author of "Japan Diary" and "The War in the Pacific."

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Clare Boothe Luce, in a letter to S. Greiner in regard to his attitude toward life's problems as he voiced them in his earlier work, PRELUDE TO SANITY (1943), had this to say:
"It destroyed my already battered belief in the efficacy of thought to organize society, . . . made tragic mock of Homo Sap . . . It made our monstrous historical yesterdays and our hideous historical tomorrows endurable to both cynic and believer . . . simply by transferring their bases from the moral and intellectual and 'psychological' casualties to biological ones."
Though Greiner foretold in the PRELUDE the advent and uses of the A-Bomb it is in his last work that these are fully dealt with. Our thought-monguls who prepare our destruction do not know the answer. If you want the truth, the whole truth, we recommend
CRISIS AND RESURRECTION $4.50
Master Publications, Kirksville, Mo., or Fortean Society, Box 192, Grand Central Annex, New York City.

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
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reservations the book remains a highly skilful and imaginative recreation of a historical pattern from numerous and seemingly disjointed little facts. As long as no better explanation is offered of the incredible "doctors' plot," for instance, one must accept Salisbury's thesis that it was one of the initial steps in an immense new purge that Stalin was planning for his closest aides. And inevitably one must wonder along with Salisbury whether Stalin's death at this juncture was not entirely too fortuitous.

The book is not uniform in quality. This reader, for example, could have dispensed with the story of the two Russian girls—Salisbury's wartime friend Galya and a subway "pick-up" named Nadja, who only wanted a good meal, who proudly exhibited her muscles, and whom he makes a symbol of a primitive and powerful Russia. But such lapses are more than made up by the tragic tale of Mikhail Borodin or the story of Salisbury's Russian teacher, Nina, who desperately wanted to be a member of the "intelligentsia," was undoubtedly an MVD informer, and led a typically amoral life in her milieu of free-loving actors, prostitutes, and gangsters. (Those who think Salisbury exaggerates are referred to the files of *Pravda* for the past year.) There are excellent reports on the spectacular rebuilding of Stalingrad, and the decay-by-design of Leningrad; on the Volga Germans deported to Stalinabad, and the prices of jewelry at the giant GUM, "Moscow's Macy's" (sapphires at $11,250 and ruby earrings at $9,500); on the state of literature, Siberia, Stalin's children, and Birobidjan, with its vanishing Jewish character and its omnipresent MVD; and on the leading Kremlin figures, including garrulous, vodka-drinking, and dynamic Khrushchev.

The author feels that Stalin's heirs did modify the rigidities of Stalinism—though this improvement may now have been ended with Malenkov's displacement. Also, he believes that while the West underestimates the discontent in the Soviet Union, the Soviet peoples are not likely to rise up in revolt against their rulers. The latter, he thinks, do not want war, if only because they feel that time is on their side and capitalism is doomed. With their growing political power, such older army men as Marshal Zhukov are, in Salisbury's opinion, a moderating influence on party hotheads. And he is convinced that there are differences between Moscow and Peking, and that with a wiser and more flexible policy Washington could have exploited them.

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Books in Brief

A Gallant Man

EIGHTY ADVENTUROUS YEARS. An Autobiography by Sherwood Eddy. Harper. $3.

Mr. Eddy's thirty-sixth book, written in his eighty-fourth year, tells the story of a long career of distinguished accomplishment as missionary, teacher, and social reformer in thirty countries. The author spent many months in Russia, China, India, and Europe, appraising with a clear eye political and social conditions and leaders during former and present regimes. He was a true liberal as well as a stern realist, a fighter by nature but a pacifist by conviction until his rational outlook convinced him that certain aggressions had to be stopped by force. In the final chapters he reveals the religious beliefs which have sustained him through all his experiences.

The Busy Jefferson

THE PAPERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON. VOL. X: 22 June to 31 December, 1786. Edited by Julian P. Boyd. Mina R. Bryan and Frederick Anadahl, Associate Editors. Princeton. $10.

The latest volume of the "Papers" covers seven months of political and diplomatic lull. Europe, Jefferson writes to Benjamin Hawkins, requesting a list of Indian words and seeds of the Venus flytrap, "is in a profound calm." Jefferson himself is quietly concocting proposals for joint action against the Barbary pirates, and there is sufficient official business of one kind or another to hold him in Paris. Nevertheless, with his genius for getting things done, he has ample leisure for private pursuits. He helps his friend Demeunier to prepare an article on the United States for the "Encyclopedie Methodique," burying the devoted man under an avalanche of fact, opinion, and advice. He begins his notable correspondence with Madame de Tesse and Madame de Tott. He investigates a new "polytype" method of printing. He takes time to study English prosody and finds it necessary to reverse an earlier opinion. John Trumbull, the artist, joins his "family" and introduces him to Mrs. Maria Cosway and, incidentally, to Mr. Cosway. Mrs. Cosway's beauty, charm, and showy accomplishments in painting and music sweep the forty-three-year-old widower off his feet. By far the most famous document in this volume is the "Dialogue between the Head and the Heart" that Jefferson, laboriously and with infinite care, wrote out with his left hand and sent to Mrs. Cosway in London. There are other matters of equal interest in this volume; and

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it would be superfluous to repeat old compliments on the editing and production.

Great Adventurer

CASANOVA. By Hermann Kesten. Translated by James Stern and Robert Pick. Harper. $5.

The adventures which Casanova took twelve volumes of his Memoirs to relate have been crammed by his latest biographer, the novelist Hermann Kesten, into less than four hundred pages. This makes for a crowded, almost breathless, recital with little room for any new appraisal of this fabulous adventurer.

Drama of a Liberal

EDUCATION OF AN AMERICAN LIBERAL. By Lucille Milner. Horizon Press. $3.95.

This would be a dramatic and fascinating story even without its importance as a social and political document. For Lucille Milner relates the impact on a sensitive middle-class woman of exposure to the social costs of industrial capitalism. Her experience with Missouri legislators while serving as a lobbyist for child-welfare measures and a turn as a ten-dollar-a-week factory hand in New York dissipated her illusions and sharpened her perceptions.

But more is offered here than the account of a personal education. For twenty-five years until her resignation in 1945, Miss Milner was the Executive Secretary of the American Civil Liberties Union and an active participant in all the memorable cases during that time which tested the reality of democratic freedom in the United States. For the first time we have an insider's version of the torment within the union as a strong faction sought to enlist the organization in a political struggle against the Soviet Union and the American Communist Party. Historians may ultimately date a significant change in the position of the union from May 8, 1940, when by a vote of 10 to 9 the board of directors expelled Elizabeth Gurley Flynn because of her political beliefs. Though staunch libertarians, including members of the A. C. L. U. board, foresaw the ultimate implications of this decision, only with extension of the cold war after 1946 did its far-reaching consequences become apparent.

Theater and Films

Robert Hatch

BECAUSE of appointments that now seem obviously less important, I am very late reporting on "The Three Sisters," playing in a closet known as the Fourth Street Theatre. I shall try to make amends for tardiness with enthusiasm. Unfortunately, the production is so miraculously good that it almost defies comment; especially when you have seen no other staging of this Chekov play. Is it better than the LeGallienne production? Does it conform to the Stanislavsky interpretation? Did Katharine Cornell have something more penetrating to offer? I don't know—but I do know that the present production carries the magic of a great play greatly personified and that we have not been shown anything of comparable quality for a long time.

The best-known names in the cast are probably Morris Carnovsky

Struggle For Social Justice: JEHOVAH VERSUS BAAL

Hebrew history was convulsed by a long struggle for social justice which was identical with the warfare of Jehovah (or Yahweh) against Baal. "The baals of Canaan are set over against Yahweh; and the name Baal becomes the very signature of Heathenism." Prof. Moore of Harvard (Commentary on Judges, P. 195). The actual force that created the One-God religion was precisely the long-continued struggle for social justice (not socialism or communism). This is the essential truth about Hebrew history; and it is an appalling fact that for centuries our churches and our religion have been so largely based upon a misinterpretation of Hebrw history. In other words, the Monotheism of Israel was not produced by a supernatural impulse, operating arbitrarily on a mountain-top in the desert of Arabia. It was, and is, a cultural achievement of the Hebrew people themselves.

Coming into view amidst the campaign of modern scientific scholarship as applied to Hebrew history, the foregoing considerations are securely enthroned in the faculties of our great institutions of learning, such as Yale, Harvard, Chicago, Duke, etc Technical circumstances have prevented the religious public and the general public from assimilating the situation. But religion is on the eve of adjustment with a scientific chronology measured by millions of years instead of six thousand years. And the people are dimly aware that great changes are imminent. One of the circumstances retarding public opinion is the prevailing ideology of Individual Righteousness, or Salvation, which has been able to debar the proclamation of social justice from the pulpit for more than fifteen hundred years. You can help defeat Reaction!

Two circulars, entitled respectively (1) Bulletin of Bible and Hebrew History, and (2) Restoration of Social Justice to Belief in God, will be sent to you free, on condition that two three cent stamps are forwarded as partial coverage of mailing cost. — Write name and address very clearly on the outside and inside of your envelope. If no stamps are forwarded, no circulars will be sent. — L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

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(Andrey), Philip Loeb (Tchebutykin), and Roger DeKoven (Vershinin); they play brilliantly but no better than Eileen Ryan as Masha, Peggy Maurer as Irina, Carol Gustafson as Olga, Leonardo Cimino, Shirley Gale, George Ebeling, Frances Chaney, or everyone else in the cast. The director is David Ross; I am in awe of him. He appears to have understood exactly what Chekov intended, known exactly which actors could best impersonate his people, and been able to fire them with his respect and love for the great play. He works on a stage about the size of my desk in a long, low, and narrow loft never intended for a public gathering and he sends you home aware once more that the theater is a noble institution.

I am not going to talk about the play. I can scarcely pretend to have discovered its beauty and terror and I am unlikely to add anything new to what has been said of it. Or perhaps one thing: there is a great deal of suffering in "The Three Sisters" but almost no cruelty. Chekov knew as much as we do about human misery and he took no very hopeful view of the race. But he wrote without patronizing his characters and without brutalizing them. Our writers have been through analysis and have learned all about the corruptions of the psyche. Reserve in sorrow, generosity in pain, gentleness in adversity have almost entirely given place to the single scientific observation that a hurt dog howls and bites. Why then do the tragic men and women of "The Three Sisters" seem so much more important and so much more real than the groveling snappers that occupy the attention of our analyst-moralists? Chekov was a doctor, too.

THE INTIMATE revue has fallen out of fashion in the theater and the two which by coincidence are now in town simultaneously suggest that this may be a loss. Not that "Once Over Lightly" (Barbizon Plaza) or "Shoestring Revue" (The President) are models of the form. They are really witty or stylish or original about 20 per cent of the time (say 30 per cent for "Shoestring Revue") and that isn't a high enough average when you are paying good money for sheer diversion. But they remind you that there is a kind of satiric comment, of mocking poignancy, of clever improvisation that have disappeared from the theater because the revue was the only place for them.

If they succeed, as I hope they do, the quality is apt to improve sharply and we might get a "Garrick Gaities" or a "Little Show" again. It is a good style for off-Broadway.

IN THE film "East of Eden" a "seriously disturbed" young man is played by the newcomer, James Dean; and in "The Blackboard Jungle" an even more shocking delinquent is played by the newcomer, Vic Morrow. Dean is directed by Elia Kazan and Morrow by Richard Brooks, but the mentor of both appears to be Marlon Brando.

It would be over cynical to suggest that they are trying to cash in on a fad, and in any case I doubt that the actors and directors would be so foolish as to think it was smart. But Brando is a powerful theatrical personality and his mannerisms are so explicit and so often repeated that other performers can easily fall into them as the "sincere" way to behave. Dean and Morrow both employ his trick of standing with one hip dropped, the opposite shoulder thrust toward but half turned away from whoever is admonishing them; they both speak under stress with his stuttering, slurred, explosive cadence; they both relieve their inarticulateness with sudden open-mouthed howls, often accompanied by the sound of breakage. Morrow is portraying a contemporary city-street tough and it could be argued that the leather-jacket gangs all move and sound today like Brando; but Dean's role is that of a Salinas, California, farm youth at the time of the First World War and for him the excuse will not hold. The mimicry is more unfortunate in his case, also, because he is the more interesting actor and presumably capable of inventing his own methods of communication.

"The Blackboard Jungle" is a tract for our times, proof that Hollywood is not heedless of the ulcers that here and there disfigure our pleasant land. But Hollywood has a strong aversion to leaving a bad taste in the customer's mouth; it likes to end the Zola act with a round of lollypops for all present.

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And this rather canny social zeal may do more harm than good; it calls the citizen's attention to a pressing evil only to assure him immediately that a very pretty remedy is at hand.

The present excursion into sociology notifies us that in a typical big city high school discipline has fallen off to the point where unarmed teachers walk the corridors in fear of their lives and where for lady teachers death may be a comparatively merciful fate. The students in such an institution play with switch blades instead of marbles and after class—when sufficiently sober—divert themselves with mayhem and armed robbery.

But do not be alarmed. Fortunately, there is nothing in this undesirable situation that cannot be remedied by a teacher (in this case Glenn Ford) endowed with the endurance of St. Sebastian, the ingenuity of Horace Mann, and the infighting techniques of a Marine commando. Mr. Ford "gets through" to the boys and from then on the school hums with industry and love.

I don't know how carefully MGM has "researched" the school situation, but they have permitted some casual boners to slip into the picture. It seems that the school is in New York (or at least in some large city where there is an elevated and where heavy snows are not uncommon), but one day Mr. Ford takes a morning off to seek advice and encouragement from a former professor, now headmaster of a model school some ten miles away. Palms are growing on this campus and the architecture strongly suggests UCLA. At another point Ford remarks that, at $2.00 an hour, a school teacher makes no more pay than a baby sitter. Perhaps the scenes of carnage are similarly inflated. But supposing that our schools—or at least some of our schools—are now only institutions of temporary confinement for armed and remorseless criminals, they are not going to be reformed into educational paradises by superman turned pedagogue. "The Blackboard Jungle" is a sentimental melodrama masquerading as a social document, which in its own way is as dangerous a little gadget as a zip gun.

The problem in "East of Eden," based on the novel by John Steinbeck, is lovelessness. Carl Trask, son of Adam Trask and brother of Aron, is as moody and bitter and dangerous as Cain.

Or so it seems to him and he finds the explanation in the discovery that his mother, officially reported dead, is really the madam of the most prosperous "house" in Salinas. He tells himself that he has inherited her badness, as his brother has inherited their father's infallible virtue. In fact, of course, brother Aron is a monster of priggish self-interest and Carl is driven by his own sensitivity and his father's lack of it into the self-destructive paroxisms that periodically overwhelm him. He tries to earn his father's love, he tries to buy it, and he tries to do without it. He is lectured for his pains. In the end he is saved by a girl who loves him for no reason except that she understands what is biting him.

This sounds pretty bad, but in fact it is not bad at all. The motivation is sadly hazy throughout (I understand that only a fragment of the novel has been brought to the screen), but the basic observation that a child who is not loved cannot possibly grow up is true and not unimportant. James Dean (despite the Brandoisms mentioned above) gives a painfully unmasked picture of what such a child looks like as it becomes older; Raymond Massey is sufficiently convincing as the good stick of a father, and Julie Harris is a quite marvelous girl-woman—too thin, burning too brightly because she sees too clearly.

The fault of the picture is that it drags. I think that is because it has been impossibly stretched across the heroic span of Cinemascope. "East of Eden" deals with inner conflict; the entire story could be played out in a living room. Instead it sprawls all over the eye-filling landscape and the real action is padded and interrupted by a great deal of rushing to and fro that is inserted to justify all that expensive new machinery. The picture keeps looking like a Western, but it lacks that kind of excitement; and the very real excitement it does have is dulled by the giant sweep of technicolor.

Records

B. H. Haggin

Oiseau Lyre OL-50032, devoted to seventeenth and eighteenth-century Spanish and Portugese harpsichord music, offers a number of engaging and interesting pieces, many of them reminiscent of those of Domenico Scarlatti – which would seem to mean that he used with special distinction the language, style, and form of his time. The record also offers an impressive work of Alessandro Scarlatti described as Toccata (No. 7 in D minor), Fugue, and Partitas on "La Folia," of which I can recognize—in what comes off the record—the Toccata and the

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variations on "La Folia," but no fugue in between. And puzzling too is the conclusion of the variations on an inconclusive chord. Good performances by Ruggero Gerlin.

Bach's Sonata No. 1 in G minor and Partita No. 2 in D minor for unaccompanied violin are played by Milstein on Capitol P-8298. The uninteresting G minor he plays in his usual straightforward manner; but in the great Chaconne of the D minor there are constant changes of tempo, distentions, and pauses that make this an ineffective statement of a work whose effect requires a steadily maintained tempo like that of Grumiaux's performance on the Boston record. Capitol also has issued the Chaconne on the 10-inch H-8297, with Milstein's "Paganiniana."

The two records of Columbia SL-219, "The Art of the Organ," offer a number of pieces played by E. Power Biggs on various European organs. Of Bach there is only the D minor Toccata without its fugue; of Purcell only a Fanfare in C; and for the rest there are several engaging and impressive pieces by Buxtehude, Sweelinck, and Pachelbel, and as many that are less interesting. Some of the performances come off the record with bright, clean, and clear sound; some with thick sound blurred by reverberation, a few with high-frequency distortion, one with what seems to be a break-up of low pedal-notes.

Three great organ works of Bach—the Fantasia and Fugue in G minor, the Prelude and Fugue in E flat from the "Clavierubung," and the Passacaglia—are on Haydn Society 129, played by Cochereau on the organ of the Church of St. Roch in Paris. The performances are slow-paced, sometimes to the point of ineffectiveness, and at times come off the record as huge masses of indistinguishably blurred thick sounds.

Better performed by Videro on the organ at Kaerteminde, Denmark, and clearly reproduced by Haydn 128, are Bach's great Prelude and Fugue in B minor and the uninteresting Prelude and Fugue in A, Pastorale in F, and Fantasia in G (the last three identified as BWV 536, 590, and 572).

Mozart's Serenades K.375 and 388 for wind instruments are on MGM E-3159, played by a group under Arthur Winograd's direction. The playing is good, but lacks the animation, sensitiveness, and ensemble integration of the old Westminster performances by a Vienna Philharmonic group.

In the performance of Mozart's Piano Concerto K.449 on London LL-1158 Gulda's playing is merely fluent, with none of the enlivening incisiveness of Istomin's in the Perpignan Festival performance. The recorded sound of his piano is dull; that of the London Symphony under Collins a little strident. Better playing by Gulda and better reproduction of piano and orchestra are heard, on the reverse side, in Strauss's "Burleske," an engaging early work.

The Haydn Trios Nos. 29, 30, and 31 for harpsichord, flute, and cello on Oiseau Lyre OL-50036 are pleasant pieces, with some of Haydn's startling modulations in the development sections, and made attractive by the characteristically beautiful playing of Veyron-Lacroix, piano, Rampal, flute, and Huchot, cello.

Similarly the two Quintets Op. 56 Nos. 1 and 2 for wind instruments by Franz Danzi (1763-1826) on Oiseau Lyre DL-53005 are made attractive by the beautiful performances of the French Wind Quintet, comprising Rampal, flute, Pierlot, oboe, Lancelot, clarinet, Coursier, horn, and Hongne, bassoon.

I managed at last to hear Mattiwilda Dobbs—at the final concert of Scherman's Little Orchestra Society. She exhibited the exquisite purity and sweetness of her voice, its extraordinary ease and security in florid vocal writing and astronomical high notes, in a performance of *Grossmachtige Prinzessin* from Strauss's "Ariadne" that could hold its own with the famous performance of Ivogun. The music however made me think of Shaw's remark that Brahms's prodigious musical powers were nothing short of a European misfortune; for I feel the same way about the prodigious musical powers of Strauss that went on producing even worse rubbish than this aria for years after he had stopped having anything to say. I had more pleasure *therefore* from Miss Dobbs's singing in Mozart's little one-act opera "The Impresario," which was composed in the same year as "Figaro," and has a delightful overture and superb vocal writing in its two arias and trio. In the contest between the two rival prima donnas there was no question as to who was the best: Mariquita Moll's voice was lovely in its lower range but not agreeable in high notes, and she had difficulty with her florid passages. Lawrence Avery sang well as the placating tenor; Max Leavitt was excellent as the impresario; and Scherman accompanied the singers well but conducted a performance of the overture that lacked the lightness, grace, and suavity it should have had.

Nobody needs to be told of Markova's appearances in Ballet Theater's coming season; but I think I should *direct* attention to Lazovsky's *one* appearance in "Petrushka" on the evening of April 16. His Petrushka *was* without equal in its time; and it is only the most outstanding of the performances we have been deprived of by this great dancer's inactivity.

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Crossword Puzzle No. 613

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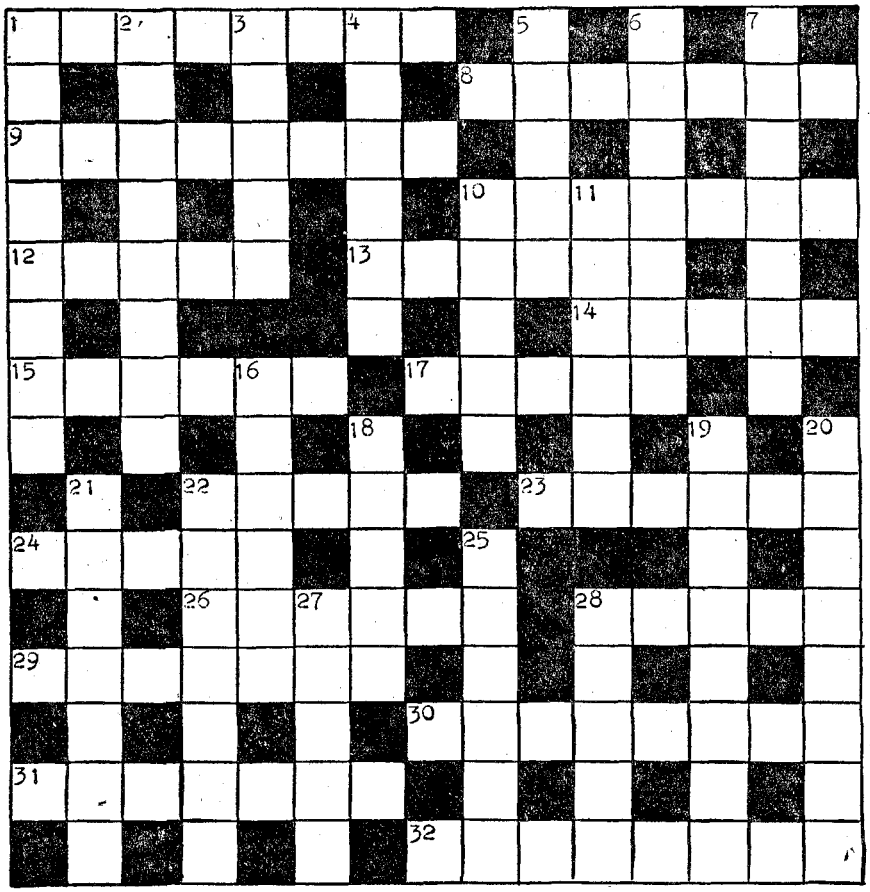

ACROSS

1 Where they hang hay for trimming? (8)
8 It turns work with the needle in the center or out from it, either way. (7)
9 A heliocentric parallax is so observed. (8)
10 Hurry to heaven in revolutionary style. (7)
12 See 24 across
13 See 32 across
14 A design, perhaps, in a poem. (5)
15 and 19 down Proving that most people are not very bright? (6,8)
17 Hackers might be wild wolves! (5)
22 and 31 across Strike on Pearl Harbor, Guam, and Manila? (5-4, 3)
23 About yesterday's meal? (6)
24 and 12 across Gets fat off in the Turkish bath tubs, in the vernacular. (10)
26 Helpful to women in the kitchen, but a nuisance in public, perhaps. (6)
28 Fish bar? (5)
29 See 32 across
30 Equal to a location for the hanger? (8)
31 See 22 across
32, 13 and 29 across What Edward and Richard both followed? (3,5,4,2,7)

DOWN

1 Impose again? (8)
2 A good way to study the industry, as one verifies. (8)
3 Concerning notices, or what one does with them. (5)
4 One of the parsley family. (6)
5 Sounds like a lot to save! (5)
6 F.O.B. is it between one and two in boxes. (7)
7 He probably has wages earned about his bad mark. (7)
10 A lost nephew of Daedalus. (5)
11 Futile. (6)
16 The senator puts an end to a sort of control. (6)
18 The drinking spot of the absent-minded? (5)
19 See 15 across
20 Almost quiet where water is deep, generally speaking. (8)
21 The wrong maxim to an individual of the empire. (7)
22 Cap beers when hot? (7)
25 Tap, to bring up a suggestion. (6)
27 Scripture, but not the true sort. (5)
28 This well might be on the verge of flight. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 612

ACROSS: 10 ENVIOUS; 11 STAUNCH; 12 COLLOIDAL; 13 TRUMP; 14 ENTITY; 16 STRICKEN; 19 TREMOLOS; 20 ASHTON; 22 LEMON; 23 EXCORIATE; 25 KIDNAPS; 26 IONIZES; 27 TRANSCENDENCE DOWN: 2 BEVEL; 3 LOOKOUT MOUNTAIN; 4 INSIDE; 5 ABSOLUTE; 6 HEALTH INSURANCE; 7 NANTUCKET; 8 NESCIENT; 15 THERMIDOR; 17 NONSENSE; 18 FORENSIC; 21 ACTION; 22. 1, and 9 LIKE A BULL IN A CHINA SHOP; 24 ANZAC.

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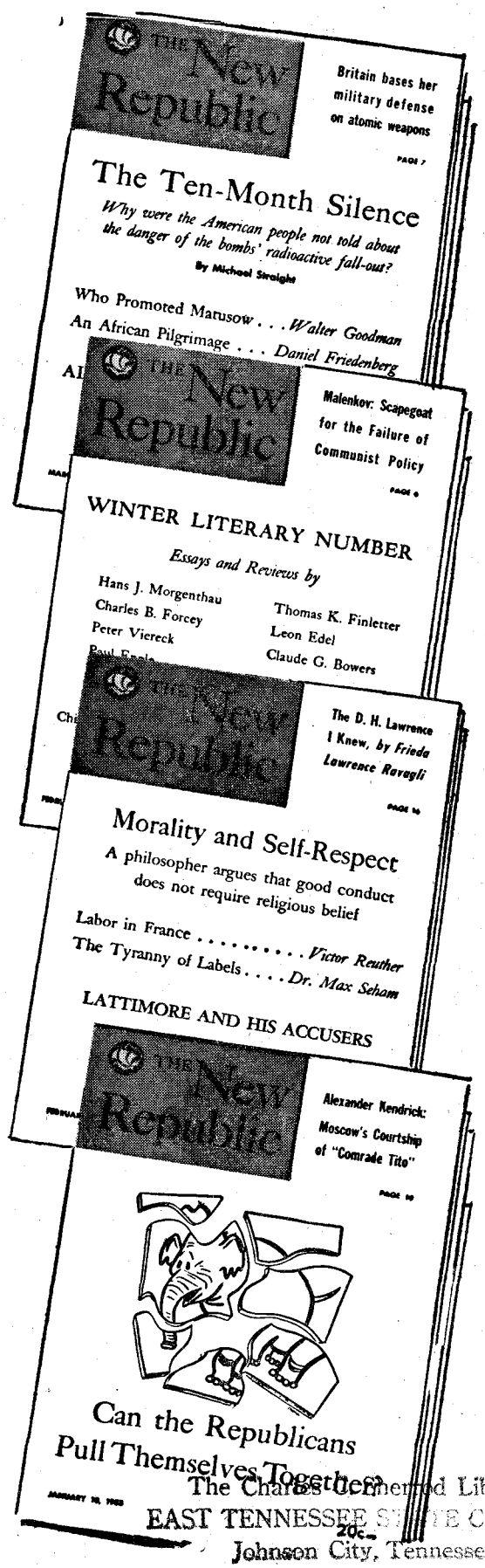
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